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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ANKARA 0409

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, TU

SUBJ: TURKISH STUDENT VIOLENCE- AN ANALYSIS

REF: STATE 8336 DTG 132221Z JAN 76 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: STUDENT VIOLENCE IS NOT NEW TO TURKEY BUT
PROBLEM HAS BECOME MORE ACUTE DURING LAST YEAR.
REASON FOR RECENT UPSURGE NOT ENTIRELY CLEAR BUT FACTORS
INCLUDE PRIMIN DEMIREL (WHO IS GENERALLY DISLIKED BY
STUDENTS), EMERGENCE OF RIGHT WING "COMMANDOS" AND
RELEASE IN MAY 1974 AMNESTY OF EXTREMISTS IMPRISONED
DURING 1971-73 MARTIAL LAW PERIOD. SMALL MINORITY OF
STUDENTS ARE DIRECTLY INVOLVED. THESE COME
FROM BOTH FRINGES OF THE POLITICAL SPECTRUM. THE OUTLOOK
IS FOR CONTINUED VIOLENCE EVEN THOUGH THE DEMIREL GOVERN-
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MENT CONSIDERS THE VIOLENCE ITS PRIMARY DOMESTIC PROBLEM.

ALTHOUGH THE GOVERNMENT IS CONSIDERING THE POSSIBILITY OF MARTIAL LAW, THE MILITARY AND THE OPPOSITION ARE STRONGLY OPPOSED. IF THE SITUATION CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE THE OPPOSITION'S CHANCES OF BRINGING DOWN THE GOVERNMENT WILL BE ENHANCED. FINALLY, ALTHOUGH THE MILITARY IS CLEARLY RELUCTANT TO INTERVENE, THIS POSSIBILITY CANNOT BE RULED OUT. END SUMMARY.

1. THE PHENOMENON OF STUDENT UNREST IS NOT NEW TO TURKEY. UNIVERSITY STUDENTS HAVE HISTORICALLY BEEN HIGHLY POLITICIZED. IN 1889 STUDENTS IN THE IMPERIAL MILITARY MEDICAL SCHOOL ORGANIZED A SECRET REVOLUTIONARY SOCIETY WHICH UNSUCCESSFULLY ATTEMPTED TO OVERTHROW THE SULTAN IN 1896. MORE RECENTLY STUDENT VIOLENCE PLAYED A CENTRAL ROLE IN PRECIPITATING THE 1960 REVOLUTION AND THE 1971 "COUP BY MEMORANDUM" DURING THE LAST FEW YEARS, UNREST AND VIOLENCE HAVE BEEN A CONSTANT ELEMENT OF TURKISH UNIVERSITY LIFE. FEW FACULTIES HAVE MANAGED TO COMPLETE A SCHOOL YEAR WITHOUT DISRUPTION.

2. BUT THIS YEAR IT IS WORSE. HARDLY A DAY PASSES WITHOUT A VIOLENT INCIDENT RESULTING IN SERIOUS INJURY OR DEATH. VIOLENCE HAS SPILLED OVER FROM THE UNIVERSITIES INTO ACADEMIES, NORMAL SCHOOLS, VOCATIONAL SCHOOLS, AND LYCEES. AS AN INDICATION OF THE MAGNITUDE OF THE INCREASE IN VIOLENCE, DURING THE ENTIRE 1974-75 SCHOOL YEAR FOUR PERSONS DIED AS A RESULT OF POLITICALLY MOTIVATED STUDENT VIOLENCE. THUS FAR IN THE 1975-76 SCHOOL YEAR AT LEAST TEN STUDENTS HAVE DIED.

3. WHY NOW?

A. THERE IS NO CLEAR ANSWER TO THE QUESTION OF WHY STUDENT VIOLENCE IS WORSE NOW THAN LAST YEAR -- OR OTHER YEARS. (DURING THE 1969-71 PERIOD THE GENERAL SECURITY SITUATION WAS WORSE THAN IT IS NOW BECAUSE OF TERRORIST BOMBINGS AND KIDNAPPINGS, BUT STUDENT VIOLENCE AGAINST OTHER STUDENTS IS A GREATER PROBLEM NOW.) SOME OF THE OBVIOUS CAUSES OF STUDENT DISSATISFACTION ARE COMMON TO

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T DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. TURKEY'S UNIVERSITY SYSTEM IS OUTDATED, OVERCROWDED, UNDER-FUNDED, AND POORLY STAFFED. THE FACT THAT A UNIVERSITY DEGREE HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN THE UNDISPUTED PASSPORT TO THE MIDDLE CLASS HAS CREATED TREMENDOUS PRESSURES FOR EXPANSION OF THE UNIVERSITY SYSTEM. THIS HAS BEEN ACCOMPLISHED IN LARGE PART BY LOWERING STANDARDS. THIS NOT ONLY RESULTS IN CLOGGING

THE SYSTEM WITH STUDENTS WHO, OBJECTIVELY, SHOULD NOT BE IN UNIVERSITIES; IT ALSO RESULTS IN A PROLIFERATION OF GRADUATES WHO CANNOT FIND (OR DO) THE WORK THEY WERE SUPPOSEDLY TRAINED TO DO. THESE UNHAPPY CONDITIONS ARE GROWING STEADILY WORSE AND ARE UNDOUBTEDLY A ROOT CAUSE FOR STUDENT MALAISE. THE MANIFESTATION OF THIS MALAISE IN POLITICAL EXTREMISM AND ULTIMATELY VIOLENCE CAN PERHAPS BE COMPARED TO THE SITUATION IN US UNIVERSITIES IN THE 60'S, WHEN A BASIC CAUSE OF STUDENT MALAISE WAS THE DRAFT BUT THIS UNHAPPINESS GENERALLY WAS NOT MANIFESTED PRIMARILY IN OPPOSITION TO THE DRAFT BUT RATHER IN POLITICAL ACTIVISM OR ALIENATION FROM THE SOCIETY. THUS, WHILE MANY TURKISH STUDENTS ARE SINCERE IN THEIR DESIRE TO REFORM THE UNIVERSITIES, OTHERS HAVE BROADER IF OFTEN INARTICULATED DESIRES TO "CHANGE THE WHOLE SYSTEM."

B. ONE FACTOR THAT IS NOTICEABLY DIFFERENT THIS YEAR FROM LAST IS THAT THE GOVERNMENT IN POWER IS LED BY SULEYMAN DEMIREL (AND HAS ALPASLAN TURKES AS A DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER). BOTH DEMIREL AND HIS OPPOSITION HAVE CALLED ATTENTION TO THIS FACT, ALTHOUGH THEY OBVIOUSLY DRAW DIFFERENT CONCLUSIONS FROM IT. DEMIREL CONTENDS THAT THE VIOLENCE IS CAUSED PRIMARILY BY LEFTIST STUDENTS SUPPORTED BY "INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM" -- AND MORE RECENTLY THE OPPOSITION REPUBLICAN PEOPLE'S PARTY (RPP). RPP CHAIRMAN ECEVIT FOR HIS PART CONTENDS THAT DEMIREL IS USING THE EXTREME RIGHT (I.E., TURKES AND HIS FOLLOWERS) TO CREATE CONDITIONS WHICH WOULD PERMIT HIM TO ESTABLISH A MORE AUTHORITARIAN REGIME. ECEVIT ALSO MAKES THE POINT THAT SUCH VIOLENCE DID NOT OCCUR WHILE HE WAS PRIME MINISTER -- BUT DID OCCUR WHEN DEMIREL WAS IN POWER BEFORE. CONSERVATIVE OPPOSITION DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DP) CHAIRMAN BOZBEYLI DOES NOT ASCRIBE THE VIOLENCE TO ANY PARTICULAR

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ELEMENT BUT CONTENTS HIMSELF WITH POINTING OUT THE APPARENT INABILITY OF THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT TO CONTROL THE VIOLENCE.

C. ANOTHER FACTOR HAS BEEN THE EMERGENCE OF RIGHT WING "COMMANDOS" AS A MAJOR PARTICIPANT IN STUDENT VIOLENCE. THE "COMMANDOS" ASSOCIATED WITH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TURKES' NATIONAL ACTION PARTY BEGAN TO COME TO PUBLIC ATTENTION AS EARLY AS NOVEMBER 1974 WHEN THEY CLASHED WITH LEFTISTS WHO WERE DISTRIBUTING ANTI-KISSINGER LEAFLETS. THE FIRST STUDENT DEATH LEFTISTS BLAMED ON THE "COMMANDOS" OCCURED IN ISTANBUL IN DECEMBER OF 1974. DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS THEY HAVE BEEN INVOLVED IN ALMOST EVERY VIOLENT INCIDENT.

D. THE REAPPEARANCE ON CAMPUSES AND IN EXTREMIST LEFTIST

POLITICAL GROUPS OF PERSONS WHO HAD BEEN IMPRISONED DURING THE POST-1971 MARTIAL LAW PERIOD AND SUBSEQUENTLY RELEASED UNDER THE MAY 1974 AMNESTY HAS BEEN AN UNDOUBTED FACTOR IN THE RECENT SURGE OF VIOLENCE. DEMIREL AND HIS GOVERNMENT ASCRIBE MUCH OF THE RECENT VIOLENCE TO THESE ELEMENTS.

E. A CULTURAL FACTOR WHICH PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN EXPANSION AND CONTINUATION OF THE VIOLENCE IS THE GENERALLY ACCEPTED TURKISH TRADITION OF BLOOD REVENGE. A MUCH USED SLOGAN OF THE RIGHT WING "COMMANDOS" IS "BLOOD FOR BLOOD REVENGE."

F. AN ADDITIONAL BUT LESS IMPORTANT, FACTOR THAT MAY CONTRIBUTE TO THE CURRENTLY HIGH LEVEL OF VIOLENCE IS WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED THE EXHILARATION FACTOR. THE SENSATIONAL COVERAGE GIVEN VIOLENT CLASHES BY THE PRESS OFTEN CREATES A SENSE OF IMPORTANCE AND INVOLVMENT WHICH ENCOURAGES FURTHER "HEROIC ACTIVITY" -- EVEN AMONG THOSE NOT IDEOLOGICALLY INVOLVED.

4. WHO IS INVOLVED?

A. A SMALL PERCENTAGE OF STUDENTS IS INVOLVED IN POLITICAL ACTIVISM AND AN EVEN SMALLER PERCENTAGE IN THE VIOLENCE. CLEARLY MOST STUDENTS WOULD PREFER THAT THEIR

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EDUCATIONAL PROCESS NOT BE PUNCTUATED BY VIOLENCE AND LONG PERIODS OF SUSPENDED CLASSES. ON THE OTHER HAND, BECAUSE OF THE INADEQUACIES OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM (AND THE INEQUITIES OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM) THEY ARE SUSCEPTIBLE TO EMOTIONAL APPEALS OF EXTREMIST ELEMENTS AND WILL OFTEN AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS. IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT EXTREMIST ORGANIZERS REGULARLY RESORT TO THREATS AND OTHER STRONG-ARM TACTICS TO FORCE OTHERWISE UNINVOLVED STUDENTS TO PARTICIPATE IN VIOLENCE-PROVOKING ACTIVITY.

B. ONE IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THE VIOLENCE, PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT, ARE THE MILITANT NEO-FASCIST "COMMANDOS" AFFILIATED WITH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER TURKES' NATIONAL ACTION PARTY (NAP), MENTIONED IN PARAGRAPH 3. THESE YOUTHS ARE GENERALLY ILL-EDUCATED BUT WELL-DISCIPLINED. MANY HAVE REPORTEDLY UNDERGONE PARA-MILITARY TRAINING. THEY ARE INSPIRED BY A PAN-TURANIST VISION OF A GREATER TURKISH FATHERLAND AND BY PERSONAL LOYALTY TO NAP CHAIRMAN TURKES. THEIR MOST COMMON QUALITY IS AN ABIDING HATRED FOR COMMUNISTS AND OTHER LEFTISTS. THESE "COMMANDOS" HAVE BEEN INVOLVED

IN MOST INCIDENTS OF VIOLENCE DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS, AND IN MANY CASES THEY WERE THE APPARENT AGGRESSORS. (SEVERAL ASSASSINATIONS OF "PROGRESSIVE" STUDENTS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN THE WORK OF THE "COMMANDOS". THE BULK OF THE 152 PERSONS ARRESTED AT A RECENT CLASH AT THE AEGEAN UNIVERSITY IN IZMIR WAS REPORTEDLY ASSOCIATED WITH THE "COMMANDOS".)

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AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

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C. EXTREME LEFTISTS (BOTH STUDENTS AND NON-STUDENT) CLEARLY ACCOUNT FOR MUCH OF THE VIOLENCE. (WE HAVE CONSCIOUSLY LIMITED THIS ANALYSIS TO STUDENTS BECAUSE MOST RECENT VIOLENCE HAS BEEN STUDENT-ASSOCIATED. MOREOVER, EVEN IN INCIDENTS IN WHICH THE PRIMARY PARTICIPANTS WERE NOT STUDENTS, SUCH AS DEMONSTRATIONS ORGANIZED BY THE LEFTIST TEACHERS UNION (TOB-DER) AND LABOR VIOLENCE IN IXIR AND SEYDISEHIR, STUDENTS GENERALLY PLAY A ROLE. THE "COMMANDO" ELEMENT HAS ALLEGEDLY BEEN INVOLVED IN VIRTUALLY

ALL SUCH VIOLENCE.) THE EXTREME LEFT IN TURKEY IS DEEPLY DIVIDED, BUT THERE DO EXIST SEVERAL GROUPS CAPABLE OF ORGANIZED VIOLENCE. (OF THESE, SOME ARE GENERALLY BELIEVED TO RECEIVE FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM FOREIGN COMMUNIST SOURCES.) SOME OF THESE GROUPS EXPEND THEIR ENERGIES ATTACKING EACH OTHER (RIGHTISTS CLAIM THAT MOST SHOOT-OUTS AND KILLINGS HAVE BEEN

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CLASHES BETWEEN PRO-SOVIET, "MAOIST" AND OTHER COMMUNIST GROUPS). OTHERS, GENERALLY LESS EXTREME AND PERHAPS CONSEQUENTLY LESS FRAGMENTED, ARE THE PRIMARY ORGANIZING FORCES BEHIND MASS STUDENT DEMONSTRATIONS. WHILE SUCH GROUPS MAY NOT BE AS SINGLE-MINDEDLY VIOLENT AS THE "COMMANDOS", THE MASS DEMONSTRATIONS THEY ORGANIZE AND ENGAGE IN OFTEN RESULT IN SERIOUS VIOLENCE EITHER BY PROVOKING RIGHTIST COUNTER ACTIONS OR BY DEFENDING POLICE CONTROL EFFORTS.

D. THE GREAT MAJORITY OF TURKISH UNIVERSITY STUDENTS CAN GENERALLY BE CLASSIFIED AS NON-ACTIVIST LEFTISTS. AS NOTED ABOVE, THESE STUDENTS ARE THE ONES WHO CAN ON OCCASION BE MOBILIZED TO TURN A MINOR PROTEST DEMONSTRATION INTO A MASS RALLY. THESE STUDENTS ARE ALMOST UNIVERSALLY ANTI-PATHETIC TO PRIME MINISTER DEMIREL AND SYMPATHETIC TO RPP LEADER ECEVIT. THIS PARTIALLY ACCOUNTS FOR THE INCREASE OF VIOLENCE DURING THE DEMIREL ADMINISTRATION. IT ALSO SUGGESTS THAT ECEVIT, IF HE SHOULD SO DECIDE, COULD PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN BRINGING THE SPIRALING VIOLENCE UNDER CONTROL.

5. FUTURE OUTLOOK --

A. JUST AS IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO EXPLAIN THE PRECISE REASONS FOR THE RECENT INCREASE IN VIOLENCE, IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO PROJECT WITH ANY CERTAINTY ITS FUTURE TREND. NEVERTHELESS, VIOLENCE LEADS TO FURTHER VIOLENCE AND A CERTAIN MOMENTUM HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED. WE BELIEVE, BARRING A DRAMATIC CHANGE IN THE POLITICAL SITUATION SUCH AS A CHANGE OF GOVERNMENT OR THE APPLICATION OF MARTIAL LAW, VIOLENCE WILL CONTINUE AT SOMETHING NEAR THE PRESENT LEVEL FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE.

B. THE TURKISH NATIONAL POLICE, WHICH IS THE ORGANIZATION RESPONSIBLE FOR MAINTAINING DOMESTIC SECURITY IN URBAN AREAS, IS REPORTED TO BE DEMORALIZED, PARTICULARLY IN ITS LOWER RANKS. (THIS IS APPARENTLY NOT THE CASE IN IZMIR WHERE THERE SEEMS TO BE BETTER COOPERATION BETWEEN THE POLICE AND JANDARMA). IT IS

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EQUATELY EQUIPPED
AND TRAINED. IT IS UNCERTAIN OF ITS POLITICAL SUPPORT.
ALTHOUGH IT CAN THEORETICALLY EXPECT BACK-UP SUPPORT FROM
THE PARA-MILITARY JANDARMA OR EVEN REGULAR MILITARY FORCES
SHOULD THE VIOLENCE GET OUT OF HAND, THERE KSA CLEAR
RELUCTANCE ON THE PART OF MILITARY LEADERS TO PERMIT
JANDARMA OR MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN THIS SUPER-CHARGED
POLITICAL SITUATION.

GSC. THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT HAS ANNOUNCED THAT IT
CONSIDERS THE RECENTNATVE OF VIOLENCE ITS NUMBER ONE
PROBLEM, BUT IT HAS THUS FAR NOT ACTED WITH THE
DECISION AND AUTHORITY NECESSARY TO BRING THE VIOLENCE
UNDER CONTROL. SENSITIVE TO OPPOSITION CHARGES OF
POLICE PARTISANSHIP IN FAVOR OF THE RIGHTIST COMMANDOS,
THE GOVERNMENT HAS APPARENTLY MADE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO
AVOID FAVORITISM. IN THE PROCESS THE POLICE HAVE
BEEN DEMORALIZED BY APPARENT GOVERNMENT ACCEPTANCE OF
THE VIEW THAT IT HAS BEEN PARTISAN,
AND RIGHTIST GROUPS,
WHICH CONSIDER THEMSELVES ALMOST BY DEFINITION PRO-POLICE
AND PRO-GOVERNMENT, HAVE BEEN ANTAGONIZED.

D. POLICE EFFORTS AND PUBLIC EXHORTATIONS BY GOV-
ERNMENT LEADERS HAVE NOT BEEN EFFECTIVE. ANOTHER TACTIC,
CLOSING SCHOOL WHERE VIOLENCE OCCURS, IS AT BEST A
LQNMPORTARY PALLIATIVE. THERE IS A GROWING FEELING THAT THE
ONLY MEANS BY WHICH THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT CAN BRING THE
SITUATION UNDER CONTROL IS TO DECLARZ MARTIAL LAW. THERE
IS WIDESPREAD OPPOSITION TO MARTIAL LAW, HOWEVER. AS
NOTED ABOVE, THE MILITARY IS EXTREMELY RELUCTANT TO ALLOW
ITSELF TO BECOME INVOLVED IN UNPOPULAR (AND PERHAPS
ULTIMATELY UNSUCCESSFUL) REPRESSIVE ACTIONS, AND IT HAS
THEREFORE ENCOURAGED DEMIREL TO FIND A SOLUTION NOT
INVOLVING MARTIAL LAW. OPPOSITION LEADER ECEVIT IS AN
OUTSPOKEN OPPONENT OF MARTIAL LAW, CLAIMING DEMIREL WANTS
TO IMPOSE IT SO HE CAN RULE EXTRA-CONSTITUTIONALLY.

E. WITH SUCH OPPOSITION DEMIREL SEEMINGLY HAS
LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO REDOUBLE PRESENT EFFORTS AND/OR
CHOOSE TO ALLOW THE SITUATION TO DETERIORATE UNTIL THERE
IS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT MARTIAL LAW IS THE ONLY SOLUTION.
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(IN ADDITION TO BEING IRRESPONSIBLY CYNICAL THIS LAST

OPTION CARRIES THE RISK THAT A CONSENSUS TO REMOVE THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT MIGHT DEVELOP PRIOR TO A CONSENSUS TO IMPOSE MARTIAL LAW).

6. WILL THE VIOLENCE AFFECT THE STABILITY OF THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT?

A. DESPITE THE IDEOLOGICAL DISPARITY AMONG THE COALITION PARTNERS, THEY SEEM GENERALLY UNITED ON THE ISSUE OF STUDENT VIOLENCE. SOME PARTNERS ARE REPORTEDLY DISTURBED BY THE MILITANCY OF NAP LEADER TURKES, BUT IN GENERAL THEY SEEM TO AGREE THAT FORCE, EITHER POLICE OR MILITARY, WILL BE REQUIRED TO BRING THE SITUATION UNDER CONTROL.

B. DESPITE A CERTAIN DEGREE OF SOLIDARITY ON THIS ISSUE, THE COALITION IS A FRAGILE BALANCE OF DIVERSE INTERESTS. DEMIREL HAS TAKEN GREAT PAINS TO AVOID ALIENATING ANY OF HIS PARTNERS, BUT HE HAD NOT BEEN ENTIRELY SUCCESSFUL. SOME INDEPENDENTS HAVE ALREADY DEFECTED AND OTHERS ARE PROBABLY SHOPPING AROUND FOR A BETTER DEAL. THE RPP HAS EMBARKED ON AN ALL-OUT EFFORT TO UNSEAT DEMIREL. THIS EFFORT WILL FOCUS ON THE BUDGET DEBATE, BUT THE FAILURE OF DEMIREL TO CONTROL DOMESTIC VIOLENCE IS SEEN BY ECEIVT AS A KEY VULNERABILITY. THE OPPOSITION EFFORT WILL CULMINATE IN LATE FEBRUARY. WHETHER THE GOVERNMENT WILL SURVIVZTHIS PRIMARILY DEPENDENT ON DEMIREL'S TENACITY AND HIS ABILITY TO CONTINUE TO BALANCE THE INTERESTS OF HIS COALITION PARTNERS. IT ALSO DEPENDS ON THE MILITARY, HOWEVER.

7. WILL THE ARMY INTERVENE?

A. THE ARMY (PARTICULARLY CHIEF OF THE GENERAL STAFF GENZKJ SANCARL IS RELUCTANT TO INTERVENE EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. NEVERTHELESS, THE MILITARY LOOKS UPON ITSELF AS THE GUARDIAN OF THE REPUBLIC AND IT WILL TAKE ACTION IF IT BECOMES CONVINCED THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE REGIME. SACXCWI HAS ISSUED STATEMENTS DURING THE LAST FEW MONTHS WARNING THAT THE MILICRY WILL NOT TOLERATE CONTINQUD VIOLENCE. BUT AT THIS POINT IT APPEARS THE

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MILITARY'S LEVEL OF TOLERANCE HAS RISEN ALONG WITH THAT OF THE TURKISH PUBLIC. THEREFORE, DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE OBJECTIVE CONDITIONS WHICH MIGHT PROVOKE MILITARY INTERVENTION NOW EXISTS, WE HAVE RECEIVED NO INDICATION OF ANY PRESENT INTENTION TO MOVE.

B. EVEN IF IT DOES NOT INTERVENE, THE MILITARY WILL PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE OUTCOME OF THIS PRESENT

CRISIS. IF IT CONTINUES TO REFUSE TO PERMIT DEMIREL
TO DECLARE MARTIAL LAW IT MAY, BY DEFAULT, ASSIST
ECEVIT IN BRINGJNG DOWN THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT. DESPITE
THE FACT THAT THE TURKISH PUBLICUAOLERANCE FOR VIOLENCE
HAS INCREASED, THAT TOLERANCE WILL HAVE ITS LIMITS.
IF THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT IS UNABLE TO KEEP THE LEVEL
OF VIOLENCE WITHIN THOSE LIMITS, COALITION MEMBERS WILL
BEGIN TO RESPOND TO PUBLIC PRESSURE AND THE GOVERNMENT
WILL FALL. CONVERSELY, MILITARY ACQUIESCENCE IN A
DECLARATION OF MARTIAL LAW (PROVIDED IT IS NOT COUPLED
WITH A MILITARY DENLD FOR A CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT) WOULD ALMOST
CERTAINLY PROLONG SOMEWHAT THE LIFE OF THE COALITION.
IT WOULD ALSO, HOWEVER, AS IN 1971, SOW THE SEEDS OF
FUTURE DIVISION AND DISRUPTION.

8. CONSULATE ADANA, CONGEN ISTANBUL, AND CONGEN IZMIR
ASSISTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THIS ANALYSIS.
MACOMBER

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